

SPECIAL REPORT AFTER THE TERROR

Canada's

Weekly Newsmagazine

Maclean's

September 24, 2001 \$4.50 www.macleans.ca



\$4.50

39





After the terror

We watch, over and over. Nothing makes it go away.



BY BOB LYNN

We watch, gape-mouthed, wide-eyed as children. We watch because we can't not watch, because if they show it one more time perhaps then we'll believe it.

There have been other American moments like this—TV moments, death caught live, forever with us: Jack Ruby, the assassin's assassin, gunning down Oswald right there in black-and-white. The space shuttle Challenger, seven aboard including the smiling, curly-haired teacher, exploding orange, leaving fire-shaped contrails. And now the World Trade Center, soaring icon of financial clout: with the north building already ablaze, currents forced a plane plowing into the south tower, into people's offices, flames shooting unimaginably from the top; then later the collapse, the once-proud tower succumbing apocalyptically, silently (on TV, anyway), in eerie silence. We watch, staring to each other in awe, in horror, in that too-human way of did highway rubber-neckers did you see that?

We saw it, over and over. Nothing makes it go away.

Happy comes in countless forms: in stringing speeches, parading parks, migrating people—in a smash-and-blast like some cheesy action flick. These aren't moments they've blown up here. We sense words to capture the magnitude: Pearl Harbor. Apocalypse. Armageddon. How to make sense of four planes hijacked, crashed, unruly thou-



Illustration: Michael Ondaatje



lands dead and injured, of smoke clouds chasing workers down New York streets, of the rivalling monochrome of ash and rubble, financial documents strewn like trash, of the famous skyline permanently ruptured, a god-sent awe where a momentary will not stay sturdy, of a commercial jet descending into the Pentagon, headquarters of a defense department that thinks it can shoot down missiles from space!

We can't make sense of it, there's no sense to be made. We can't even ask the questions how they could work such havoc, kill so callously, because they're dead and their sponsors hiding, suspicion clings to the usual suspects in the Middle East, and retaliation is as easy as death. Americans are mourning and we share their rage, their pain, to follow harms being and neighbors but also because the carnage hits home. Canadian parents grab their kids from classrooms, leaving in mass, the father or mother on one of the planes, in one of the towers. A small world going smaller: nearly everyone knows someone, or at least someone who knows someone—in few degrees of separation. We try to imagine, standing perched in those windows... we cannot imagine.

And can't find comfort, when not even citizens of the lone superpower are safe. Terrorism, a porous border, an airport accuracy—we worry about all of it, obsessive as concerns. We worry and watch, the same images day after day, the death count rising, the worst now and. We're certain only of this: it won't ever go away.

Photo: George F. Mobley/Reuters



ACTS OF WAR

Death came from the skies on Sept. 11. Now the world waits for what happens next.

BY JAMES DEACON

Engineer Charles Bull was just stirring down at his desk on the 73rd floor of the World Trade Center's north tower, logging on to his e-mail system to start his workday, when American Airlines Flight 11 out of Boston crashed into the building. The structure shook, waste bins fell from the ceiling, and the airport-systems project manager headed for the emergency stairway even before the plane hit. In the 45 minutes it took for him and many others to reach "ground zero," he says, the procession was eerily calm. As they moved the bottom, water from fire sprinklers was cascading down the steps. Along the way, the evacuees learned what had happened from people talking on cellphones. Even then, despite knowing another plane had hit the center's south tower, "there was no panic," Bull says. "I don't think we realized the extreme danger we were in."

The 70-year-old New Yorker was exhausted when he finally reached street level, but police ordered everyone to keep moving away from the buildings. Bull was crossing nearby Church Street when the south tower gave way, showering dangerous debris onto the sidewalk and plunging the area into darkness with a dense cloud of ash. About 15 minutes later, with the dust clearing a little, he crossed Broadway to an enclosed ATM kiosk, hoping to find a safe haven. But there people were slowly crammed into it. "One had a broken leg, one was covered with blood, and our was having a nervous meltdown," Bull says. He eventually found shelter in the lobby of a bank building just as the north tower came crashing down. Later, walking

Photo: AP/Wide World



Zlatos was arriving for work in a nearby office when he witnessed the destruction. "I thought I was going to die," he says.

home, there was still paper falling out of the sky. "I looked down," he says, "and there was a fax sheet from my own office at my feet, an blocks away."

Danick Zlatos was just arriving at his office on West Street, directly across from the trade center, when the first hijacked airliner slammed into the tower high above. The 26-year-old from Toronto, a manager of ad sales for a finance firm, didn't see the terrible crash—from street level, his view was blocked by a canopy overhead. It was just as well. "First, I thought a bomb had exploded, then I thought it was an earthquake, but the ground wasn't shaking," he says. "Then all this debris started falling the top of the overpass, and everybody started to run." He headed toward the main door of his building, but he couldn't enter because of the flood of people pouring out. Someone told him about the plane crash.

Wondering what to do next, Zlatos heard the roar of another jet, so loud and jarring that "I thought I was going to die." He looked up and saw a Boeing 767—United Airlines Flight 175—plunge sickeningly into the south tower, creating a fireball that disturbed furiously skyward while sending shards of glass and car-sized chunks of debris hurtling towards the ground. He turned and ran south down West Street—"I didn't want to be near any buildings." Looking back, he saw the unthinkable: a body falling from a high floor, followed quickly by a second, a third and a fourth. He then encountered a man who'd been battered by debris. His body was totally drenched in blood, and he was



suggesting silently among the other people on the street and someone stopped to help. That was it for Zlatos. He ran away, first towards Battery Park at Manhattan's southernmost tip, and then to his lower midtown apartment. But even that didn't feel safe. "It was like, everyone was just waiting for the next bomb to drop, like we were under attack," he said. "I just wanted to get the hell out of New York."

St. John's, N.J., native Katrina Byrne, 35,

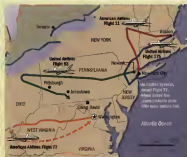
director of media relations for a Wall Street industrial-relations agency, was supposed to move to the trade center in August from a nearby building. Another department in her company was shifted instead. "We were kind of afraid of because we wanted the new office," she says. "We would have been on the 18th floor. I like to think we would have got out." As it was, things were dicey anyway. She was on the street when the second plane hit, but Byrne managed to get

away. It appeared, at first, that she was personally unaffected by the disaster. But she soon discovered a friend had been aboard American Airlines Flight 11; Byrne's husband had been the best man at his wedding. "How is she coping?" Not well," she says. "I've just been hanging out with my friends. We weren't out last night, just to be together. Some of us took care to look at each other and started to cry." She admits she's nervous about going back to work when her office

reopens, but she is confident, reflecting the spirit of so many New York residents. "I'm not sure I'll feel safe," she says, "but I don't want whoever did this to get the upper hand. It's going to be business as usual, or else it will be like the bad guys won."

SOMEONE maybe it won't feel like the bad guys won. People may risk elevators up to their Manhattan offices without thinking about the disaster. They'll calmly board

commercial airliners, military personnel will casually report for duty at the Pentagon. Not this week, though, and not for awhile. It could take years to heal the terrible wounds inflicted on September 11, 2001. There are too many heartbreaking tales of husbands and wives calling home from charred airplanes and burning office towers, leaving painful messages of love that really mean "Goodbye." Children lost parents, parents lost children. Some



TIME LINE OF TERROR

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 11, 2001

8:00 AM AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 11
(Boeing 767) leaves Boston
for Los Angeles with 92 people onboard

8:14 AM UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 175
(Boeing 767) leaves Boston for
Los Angeles with 65 people onboard

8:28 AM UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93
(Boeing 737) leaves Newark, N.J., for
San Francisco with 48 people onboard

8:43 AM AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77
(Boeing 767) leaves Washington for
Los Angeles with 64 people onboard

8:58 AM AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 11
hits north tower of World Trade Center
in New York

9:03 AM UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 175
hits south tower of World Trade Center
in New York

9:03 AM AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 77
crashes into Pentagon outside Washington

9:03 AM Federal Aviation Administration
halts all flights to U.S.

9:03 AM South tower of World Trade Center
collapses

9:03 AM UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93
crashes near Johnston, Pa.

9:03 AM U.S. federal flights
diverted to Canada

9:03 AM World Trade Center's
north tower collapses



companies occupying the topmost floors at the trade center lost hundreds of staff members—not to mention their places of business. And New York lost the two great monoliths that for 30 years dominated its skyline. "From here on in, it will never be the same," says Gordon Egan, 40, a makeup artist from Toronto who lives in the adjacent financial district. "They'll have to change all the passwords now," he adds. "The skyline's completely changed."

The terrorist attacks did more than rattle the grade ceiling, blow a hole in the Pentagon outside Washington and drive a fourth airliner into a Pennsylvania field. They sent deeply into the financial heart of the United States, causing major stock exchanges to close for days. And they crushed the illusion that Post-9/11 America, buffeted by ozone and bolstered by military might, was safe from outside attack. The plan was as simple as it was miserably effective: hijack transatlantic flights so they would be less of a fact to produce a bigger explosion, and it would work when there would be fewer passengers to sustain. These flying bombs killed an estimated 3,500 people, but they also disabled the number who perished at Paul Harvey 60 years before.

Like so many Americans, U.S. President George W. Bush wanted attribution. American officials immediately sought allies' support to hunt down those who devised and financed the attacks. They got it. "Those responsible for hiding, reporting or harboring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these acts will be held accountable," European leaders, including German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac, said in a joint statement. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien commended Canada for helping the U.S. "defy and defeat terrorism." Bush made clear he prefers to move sooner rather than later. "I'm really emotional," he called the terrorist attacks of war—"a new kind of war. And this government will respond, and this government will call others to join us, to make sure that act, these acts, the people who conducted these acts and those who harbor them, are held accountable for their actions."

Tough talk. But so much as he might have wanted it, Bush couldn't simply lash out. In order to execute a meaningful resolution against his terrorist foes, he needs

'FAR MORE THAN YOU WOULD EVER DESIGN FOR'

It's hard to imagine any skyscraper surviving what the World Trade Center was subjected to. Each massive 110-story tower initially bore the full weight of a Boeing 767 passenger jet slamming into its head-on impact, either side. The jets, both on transatlantic flights, were fully loaded up with 10,000 lbs. of highly combustible jet fuel when they took off. It was the head of this fuel and interior debris burning that, structural experts agree, brought both buildings to their knees, and a cataclysmic standard.

The concrete architect, the late Meira Tamraz, saw the twin towers as symbols of financial robustness. Their innovative design was widely accepted for its lightness and strength. The perimeter walls were made of hollow tubes of steel, 34 in. square and spaced just one meter apart, leaving room only for narrow windows. On each floor, trusses linked to the lower core-bearing walls and elevators provided extra stability. The World Trade Center was built to withstand hurricanes from winds, earthquakes, even a hit by a Boeing 747, the largest commercial airliner around when the first tower



The towers remained standing even after devastating hits, but their structural strength was no match for the fires.

opened in 1973. Still, it wasn't enough. The first 767—about 20 per cent heavier than a 747 but with about the same fuel capacity—hit the north tower around the 95th story; the second

struck the south tower around the 110th. From the towers' point of view, the impact was the bottom-most weight from the upper floors would have come down on the lower as the damaged section collapsed.

Queen's University civil engineer Mark Goss calculated the power of the exploding fuel on the order of a tonne of explosives. In each case, the impact ripped out many of the support columns. The remaining columns initially buckled the load, says Goss. But with agricultural systems likely designed to stretch, the configuration did the rest. "That was," says Goss, "the last straw more than you would ever design for."

This was no ordinary kinetic, likely burning in excess of 100° C, enough to weaken steel and weaken the steel columns holding up the floor would have been out like soft floors, as the floor trusses could have separated from the exterior columns, which then burst outward. The weight of the floors above then crashed down in what is known as a progressive collapse. Mark Goss, an associate professor of architecture at Queen's University in Kingston, N.Y., says once one floor buckles, that's it. "It just keeps going," says Goss, "crashing down to the point that it is pretty evident in the footage I saw."

Benjamin Newkirk

THE LANDMARK THAT WAS

- The World Trade Center combined of seven buildings on a 6.5-acre site in Lower Manhattan, and opened between 1973 and 1977.
- The 110-story north and south towers were the world's tallest office buildings when the complex opened.
- The towers housed as many as 50,000 workers and attracted roughly 150,000 visitors a day.
- Among the hundreds of tenants: global financial services firm Morgan Stanley; the WTC's biggest tenant (1,500 people on 13 floors of each tower), leading bond dealer Citicorp (1,800); new top of north tower, insurance company World & McLennan (1,700); in both buildings, law firm Thacker, Poffitt & Wood (180 on four floors in the lower half of south tower); Toronto-based Information services company The Great Corp. (200), in both towers.



CANADIANS REMEMBERED

At week's end, about 100 Canadians were thought to be among the victims—a number that seemed certain to rise. Two of the first tragic stories, as recounted by Editor at Large Alex Ross' *Journalist and Assistant Editor David MacIsaac*:

DONALD ROBSON had a just for him: being up the grill crane with his penis, betting on his beloved Blue Jays, cheering along to Jimmy Buffett's *Margaritaville*. These were the things he loved. But most of all, the Toronto-based Robson treasured his time with his wife, Kathy, and their two sons, Geoff, 22, and Scott, 37. In fact, the only thing he hated was heights. As a painter and best painter at Carter Playwale, the 62-year-old worked on the 32nd floor of the north tower of the World Trade Center. "He was there because his job was there," says his sister Nancy Depina. "But he wouldn't even look out the window." When his building was bombed in 1993, it took Robson almost four selfish hours to get out, dazed, which time he watched a man have a heart attack and automatic struggle for life. His only comfort was his belief that the World Trade Center would never again be shown as a target. "It's all you," says Harris. "He hated that building."



Last Tuesday, Harris turned on the television in her Toronto home only minutes after a plane shot into her brother's building. Nothing came, she hoped that, this time, he would get out. But it took another 10 minutes before she could see him. "I just wanted to know that we'd find him," she says. "That somehow he'd get out."

Less than 24 hours later, she and her eldest brother, John Robson, drove to New York to comfort their sister-in-law, help prepare for her last Sunday funeral—just one of several he held in his life. Long Island community of Hawthorne, and the first of two services for Robson, with friends mourning on both sides of the border, the family is planning to hold a memorial service in Toronto. Meanwhile, others are expressing an unwillingness to share their "lost stories," memories of a friend well-loved, in his sister's words, "a huge tribute."

Last Sunday, a Canadian flag was run up the

pole outside Robson's home—a tribute to a man who, after 18 years in the States, still had a low love for Canada, including that his American friends join in his annual celebration of Canadian Thanksgiving. One of those friends was Don Ross, who delivered the eulogy at Robson's funeral last week. "We'll miss you guys who are here," said Ross. "But he's different. Always on an even keel, very self-sufficient. No matter what their lot in life, he makes everyone feel comfortable." Ross credits himself still struggling with the shift in time. "I miss, he did." He closes his throat. "You know, we're all going to miss him deeply, but the ones who will miss him most are his boys. As you grow up, a father becomes less of a father and more of a friend. Scott and Geoff are just asking that, 'What, and now they're going to miss out?'"

ALEXANDER FILIPPOV wasn't supposed to be an American Airlines Flight 11's last passenger to Los Angeles—the flight that ripped into Robson's building. The self-employed electrical engineer, who generally worked from his home in Concord, Mass., was scheduled to visit a client in Long Beach, Calif. The company booked him on Delta Airlines. But Filpov, 70, changed his reservation at the last minute. He knew American's schedule and he believed that the carrier would get him home in time for his 40th wedding anniversary four days later. But the Boeing 767 was hijacked and crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. "It is just a shock," said his wife, Laveria. "Whenever he had to go to L.A., he took the 11, and so did the 12 house."

Born in Russia in 1921, he moved with his family to Windsor, Ont., in 1946. His brother Jim Filpov, a minor North Bay, Ont., firefighter, has fond memories of the Windsor years. In 1948, 16-year-old Jim, "he was watching aircraft flying over the Detroit River remembering that the war was over. At once quiet and he started to play his kugel. I remember seeing his silhouettes against the planes. It was a beautiful sight."

Attended to electronics from an early age, Filpov worked in the Northwest Territories after earning his degree in electrical engineering from Queen's University. On a business trip to New Jersey in 1957, he met Laveria, and two years later he moved to the United States. As an auto sales, painter, oiler, painter and guitar player, Filpov was also a devotee in Canada's Ontario Provincial Church. He is survived by his three sons, Jeffrey, Allen and David. "He was the most well-mannered person I ever met," says Jeffrey. "He believed and talked about Canada. And he with, 'The best life!'"



Special Report

precise, up-to-date information from domestic and foreign intelligence agencies—the same agencies that failed to detect and intercept last week's attacks. "We got caught flat-footed," said Senator Richard Shelby, the ranking Republican on the Senate intelligence committee. "We have got to be a hell of a lot more aggressive."

It would help to know the enemy's identity. *Aashtrian* suspect Osama bin Laden, the exiled Saudi-born multi-millionaire based in Afghanistan. And there is general agreement that he didn't act alone: such a large and sophisticated terrorist operation would have required greater resources. So the investigation is focused as much on terrorism-friendly regimes in Iraq, Afghanistan and Yemen as it is on the shadowy bin Laden. As they wait for answers, the U.S. armed forces are studying for war. "That's a scale of distraction beyond terrorism," John Thompson, a military analyst of the Toronto-based *Maclean's* Institute, said of last week's losses. "We really should be regarding this as an act of war."

It might have been worse. A fifth hijacking may have been averted when United Airlines Flight 23 from New York to Los Angeles, which was supposed to take off at about the same time the trade center was being attacked, was grounded. That reportedly upset three men, who stayed onboard, and argued with flight attendants, only to disappear before security personnel arrived. The incident led four days later to a high-ranking officer of security, police and FBI agents removed 12 passengers from flights out of New York airports. Eleven were released the following morning; the 12th, a suspected associate of bin Laden, was being held as a material witness.

Once begun, the investigation moved with breathtaking speed. Searches at the crash sites assembled the data and voice recorder from the planes that crashed into the Pentagon and the Pennsylvania field. Federal agents found evidence that was in Atlanta and Richmond, Va., may also have been targeted for attack. The FBI named 19 hijackers, sources claimed four of them—Waleed Alshehri, Ahmed Alghamdi, Hani Alghamdi and Saeed Alghamdi—had links to bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network. Others were suspected of having ties to more obscure extremist groups such as the Islamic Army of Aden in Yemen, one of three groups that claimed



Canadians mourned as well—100,000 attended a memorial service in Ottawa

credit for bombing the USS Cole last fall. By cross-referencing records from pilot-training schools and from passenger manifests, agents identified the men who likely entered the flights to their targets—Mohammed Atta (north tower of the trade

center), Marwan Al Shehri (south tower), Hani Hanjour (Pentagon) and Ziad Jarrah (Pennsylvania).

Initially, intelligence agencies suggested the hijackers entered the United States through Canada, but by week's end the FBI revealed that all but one of the 19 had U.S. addresses, mainly in southeast Florida. Investigators compiled another

list of 100 or so people they wanted to interview, dispatched agents to airports to check passenger lists against their list, and transported a meat case in Boston that allegedly contained Arabic-language flight manuals. The night before the attacks, three men at a Daytona Beach, Fla., strip club were reported to have shared anti-American epithets. "They were telling



TARRED WITH THE SAME TERRORIST BRUSH

Mariela Alik and her colleagues were on a much reduced TV panel Detroit when they learned about the bombings. As they watched TV, they were all shocked and saddened. But just as soon as the weather moved in from the West, they were all shocked and saddened. But just as soon as the weather moved in from the West, they were all shocked and saddened. But just as soon as the weather moved in from the West, they were all shocked and saddened.

When Mariela Alik, a spiritual leader of the International Muslim Organisation in west end Toronto, says members of his community are all feeling frustrated by the sense their faith has become unjustly synonymous with terrorism "the religion is in jeopardy," Alik says. "There are more than 500,000 Muslims in Canada, with large populations in major cities. Many came to Canada to escape violence in the Middle East, but

again find themselves vulnerable. Last week, a number of mosques in mosque districts Toronto, while others in St. Catharines and Downsview, were vandalized. "We're perplexed," says Alik. "Should we tell people to keep a low profile? But that's not life. They don't do anything to have to keep a low profile. I advise people not to get into arguments, to understand if somebody is hurt."

The Muslim community in North America has gone through this sort of thing before. After the 1994 Oklahoma City bombing, terrorists from the Middle East were initially prime suspects in the mind of the American public. "Every time something happens they blame the Muslims," says Bilal Dooze, a coordinator at the Islamic Centre in Toronto. "They just people who are playing in women wearing scarves on the TV and say these people are all evil, but they're all the same. Then, like in Oklahoma, they have around and say sorry-but it's too late. The way the media portrays Muslims, people think we're criminals."

In truth, most Canadian Muslims support punishing those who committed the atrocity. Muslims are not. But when it comes to fear, Muslims are not. But when it comes to fear, Muslims are not. But when it comes to fear, Muslims are not.

North America's Muslims are shocked by the bombing—and feeling the backlash

at a Toronto hotel. "That is very hard to digest, especially if you see them that country, which in the past 22 years has known nothing but war and devastation." But what adds that same people in his community who worry about history repeating itself. If the U.S. starts a war with Arab countries, will North American Muslims find themselves treated as innocent Japanese were during the Second World War?

Dill, not all Muslims are fearful of reprisals. "Even if a Muslim did it, why should I be afraid?" asks Mohammed, a business consultant who moved to Canada from Bangladesh 22 years ago. "This is a democratic country." Toronto grocery store and restaurant owner Sadeer Choudhry also believes any Muslim Canadian will not act out mainly. "We are a multicultural country," he says. "We are so peaceful."

Last week, at mosques throughout Canada, Muslims held multi-faith prayer and mourning ceremonies for all those lost in the attack. "On Tuesday morning, I was so shocked," said Alik, "and my wife told me, 'We were so sad, so confused.' He and my other sons went their neighbors to know that on Sept. 11 they felt human first and Muslim second."

Shahida Zaidi

about what a bad place America is," club manager John Kap said. "They said, 'Wait till tomorrow. America is going to see bloodshed.'"

At Pearson International Airport in Toronto, the RCMP detained a man found to have suspicious travel documents. Beyond that, though, Canada's main role was as the good neighbour. Airports from coast to coast made room for some of the hundreds of U.S.-bound flights that had to be diverted when American airports were closed. Canadian banks initiated fund-raising campaigns for disaster relief. And on Friday in Ottawa, Chretien and U.S. Ambassador Paul Cellucci joined a crowd of about 100,000 that solemnly assembled on Parliament Hill for a morning remembrance ceremony. "At a time like this, words fail us," Chretien told the crowd. "We're before the blunt and terrible reality of the evil we have just witnessed."

IN THE AFTERMATH, the talk was about revenge. No apologies. No mercy. Arabs in North America felt an immediate backlash—minor assaults, harassment, threats. Meanwhile, one poll found that, in order to meet out future terrorist threats, the vast majority of Americans were willing to give up some civil liberties, which could range from more intense scrutiny at airports to greater government intrusion into private finances and telephone use. One report last week claimed the FBI asked several law-enforcement agencies to install e-mail surveillance software in an effort to track terrorists. Without being specific, the service providers would only say they are helping at this time. But in haste, the G-men may not be so old.

For the moment, Americans are just as prepared to guard their anti-terrorism reach outside their own borders. Again, polls showed overwhelming support throughout the country for a massive retaliation, even at the risk of killing innocent foreigners and U.S. service personnel. And there was only one dissenting voice in all of Congress on a bill to allow the use of the military to "employ all necessary and appropriate force" against the perpetrators. For the first time since Vietnam, a presidential veto for foreign conflict, a president has almost unlimited political backing to use the country's enormous military might. And so Washington will establish a line of passing troops in high-



Logan and his staff found beds for 2,500, while others slept at the airport

HELPING HANDS ON CANADA'S WEST COAST

By 7 a.m. on Tuesday in Vancouver, with the horror still unfolding across the northwest, Andy Logan had already figured out what he could do to help. The general manager of the 289-room Best Western International Airport, was making plans to shelter and feed the stressed and disoriented flyers he later would head his way. By Tuesday, 34 of the more than 240 planes that landed at Canadian airports after U.S. airlines voluntarily grounded all American flights were diverted to Vancouver. There were also the street and passages from the cancelled flights to make.

Every available room was inventoried, meeting rooms were converted into bedrooms, extra staff were called in, and plans were set on wheels with the nearby Marriott and Hilton airport hotels. 900 more were needed. Logan and his staff located bus parking lots, looking for hotels on the way at Whistler, two hours to the north, and Chilliwack, about 90 minutes east. Logan also commandeered the hotel's ballroom, making it easy on the wireless and not staff hotel.

Down the street, Doug Webster, manager of the Hudson's Bay Co. department store, was also figuring out how to help when he thought of the neighbouring hotel. "They're really going to be under single over there," he realized thinking. He telephoned Logan, offering, then delivering, a head of mattresses from his distributor centre.

Logan also received a call from Parliament's



senior hotel team, looking for hotel space to establish a crisis intervention centre. He shut down a bar and turned it over to the team, which fed a steady stream of stranded travellers seeking assistance or respite. "It is really incredible and proud of how everybody came in," he says. "It was a glimpse of light out of a really gloomy time."

By the end of the day Logan's staff had found beds for some 2,500 people. About 450 slept in the ballroom, another 150 in hotel rooms to World Street Church, others to sleep, to eat or to pray. "The people who were coming in were very confused, very upset," said Cliff Uebel, one of the pastors. "See parsonage asked, 'What city are you in?' The usual Sunday morning for parsonage had been pushed aside, and the floor was covered with sleeping bags. Bed sheets and plastic-wrapped Hudson's Bay mattresses. World Street wasn't looking very church-like. "I think that's a good thing," said Uebel. "It's the church's mission."

Ken MacQueen in Vancouver



AIMING AT AMERICA

ATTACKS, AND RESPONSES, OVER THE DECADES

Sept. 11, 1929, New York City A TNT bomb exploded in a house-drawn wagon blown up on Wild Street, killing 35 and injuring hundreds. Authorities blame Bohemians or anarchists.

March 5, 1934, Philadelphia Five congressmen shot on the floor of the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican nationalists.

Jan. 24, 1976, New York City A bomb in a tavern kills four and injures more than 50. A Puerto Rican nationalist group claims responsibility; police suspect the same group in 19 other bombings.

Dec. 25, 1978, New York City A bomb in the baggage-check section of LaGuardia Airport kills 11 and injures more than 70. No one claims responsibility so far.

Aug. 4, 1979, Boston Militant students storm U.S. Customs, killing 52 hostages for 644 days.

May 13, 1981, New York City Puerto Rican nationalists claim responsibility for a bomb that kills one person at JFK airport.

April 23, 1983, Beirut Suicide-bomb attack destroys U.S. Embassy, killing 63. Terrorist organization Hezbollah claims responsibility.

Oct. 23, 1983, Beirut Hezbollah suicide bombers claim responsibility for blowing up U.S. and French military installations, killing 243 U.S. and 58 French servicemen.

Aug. 4, 1995, Pittsburgh Car bomb kills two and

injures 20 at a U.S. air force base. Terrorist groups first Army Pacific and Action Directa claim responsibility.

Oct. 7, 1986, off Egypt Palestinian terrorists hijack an Italian cruise ship, kill one U.S. tourist and throw his body overboard.

April 6, 1989, West Berlin A bomb in a disco frequented by Americans kills two U.S. soldiers and a Turkish waitress, injures 200 (44 U.S. besides those in retaliation).

Dec. 21, 1988, Scotland Pan Am Flight 103 explodes over Lockerbie, killing 270. (Last January, one Lockerbie was convicted and one acquitted.)

Feb. 26, 1993, New York City A bomb in the baggage-check garage of the World Trade Center kills six and injures more than 1,000. (Six Islamic terrorists were each sentenced to 30 years in jail.)

April 29, 1995, Oklahoma City A truck bomb destroys a federal building, killing 568 and injuring more than 1,000. (Jettified suspect focused on Middle Eastern extremists; war wrong, American Timothy McViegh was executed last June in Tennessee, and Cleveland accomplice Terry Nichols sentenced to life in prison.)

Nov. 23, 1989, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia Bomb at U.S. air military center kills seven. U.S. suspects notorious Saudi-born terrorist leader Osama bin Laden. Saudi Arabia executes four nationals for their participation.

June 25, 1991, Oklahoma, Saudi Arabia Fuel truck loaded with U.S. military equipment hits 20 U.S. servicemen, injures roughly 400. U.S. suspects

bin Laden, left June, Saudi government indicated 14 members of Hezbollah.)

July 27, 1989, Atlanta A bomb explodes in city parking garage of Olympic Center, killing one and injuring 111. FBI later charged American Eric Robert Robbley, who remains at large.

Feb. 23, 1997, New York City A killing Palestinian kills one tourist and injures six in the Empire State Building.

May 4, 1998, Sacramento, Calif. So-called Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski sentenced to four life sentences after a 17-year pursuit; conspiracy that killed three and injured 23.

Aug. 7, 1999, Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Pakistan Bombs at U.S. embassies kill more than 250, injure over 3,000. (In retaliation, U.S. military bombed sites associated with bin Laden on Nov. 4, 2001, a New York court indicted bin Laden on charges of murder.)

Nov. 4, 2001, New York City U.S. offered \$15 million for bin Laden's capture. In May, four participants in the bombings were convicted in New York.)

Oct. 14, 1999, Port Angeles, Wash. Montreal resident Ahmed Ressam arrested at U.S. Customs, being a car carrying a cache of bomb-making material. (Ressam, who trained in one of bin Laden's camps, was convicted in Los Angeles last April of terrorism and explosives charges. Two accomplices have been convicted and a third was arrested in Nigeria in April.)

Oct. 12, 2000, Yemen U.S. destroyer Cole bombarded in Aden harbor, killing 17 sailors. (Investigators link attack to bin Laden.)

risk situation has been replaced by a belated determination to wreak a lasting revenge. "We have reached a moment of moral clarity," said former secretary of education William Bennett. "We must hang down those who attacked us and those who helped them. And then we need to kill some people. They provoked it, they asked for it and they should get it."

At week's end, senior Pentagon officials told *Macleod's* that action against bin Laden is certain and could come at any time. Bush has launched a massive effort to build an international coalition to support an invasion of Afghanistan to capture bin Laden if the ruling Taliban government continues to ignore an ultimatum to hand him over. But Bush and his top advisers consider it vital that they "get" bin Laden as well. Over the next few weeks, the President may go much further if, for example, there is mounting evidence against Iraq. He may ask NATO to join in an all-out attack to supply Saddam Hussein, the goal his father failed to accomplish. Obviously, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has sent a solemn videotaped message to the U.S. military, saying, "It is my duty as head of this department to tell you that more, much more, will be asked of you in the weeks and months ahead." It continues, "We face powerful and terrible enemies, enemies we intend to vanquish."

The Americans will have help. NATO for the first time invoked the "Mankiewicz" pledge (all for one, one for all), declaring that an attack on the U.S. was an attack on all allies. As well, Bush may have an unexpected and powerful ally in Russia—at least as far as capturing or killing the parent, six-foot, four-inch bin Laden is concerned. Russia despises bin Laden for his support of Islamic militants and terrorists in Chechnya and the former Soviet republics in Central Asia. Bush has been in close contact with Russian leader Vladimir Putin, and state department sources say Russia may provide access to Afghanistan through its Tajikistan—and may even join a commando invasion force.

Most likely, any action against bin Laden and Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia, which has harbored him for the past five years, will involve moving a dozen B-2 bombers to the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia or negotiating bargaining arrangements with Pakistan. The plan would capture both all of the axes



One survivor vowed to go back to 'business as usual, or else it will be like the bad guys won'

where bin Laden is known to hide in the mountainous peaks of Afghanistan, and may even attack the Taliban's army bases. After a week or more of this sort of bombing, at least one conspiracy plan under consideration calls for special-force commandos to invade—through Pakistan to the south and Tajikistan to the north. The aim would be to capture or kill bin Laden and his top leadership, and then to quickly withdraw from the area.

At that point, the focus would shift to bin Laden's allies—among them Iraq and fundamentalist supporters in Sudan and Algeria, where bin Laden is believed to finance

terrorist training camps. "It's been our policy to hold individual terrorists accountable rather than the governments who support them, and that policy has failed," Pentagon adviser Richard Pote explained. "This attack could not have been done without the help of one or more governments."

It will require great statelessness in action and assistance the international assistance the United States needs—Bush's father succeeded during the Gold Water, but the current President is new to the job. He passed his first test last week, though. He sought an agreement with Pakistan to use its territory as a staging ground for



People hoped against hope that loved ones remained alive beneath the rubble

military action against bin Laden in neighboring Afghanistan. Despite opposition from other Islamic states and from fundamentalists within his own borders, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and his cabinet agreed to the U.S. request, so long as it was a multinational force and not just American troops. Why? The

Mackenzie Institute's Thompson says that while Islamic nations might not like what Washington plans to do, they know enough to get out of the way. "A very angry giant is coming their way," he says, "and they will all be strong again." Still, the Americans will have to watch their backs. Counterterrorism experts at the state department say extremist groups around the world will not sit idly as the United States thrusts its sword.

FOR MOST NEW YORKERS, life was already going back to normal by week's end. Not for the rescue crews. The six, which for days had been chafing thick with smoke and dust and ash, finally drained. But the teams combing the wreckage for survivors found their efforts limited by pentameter fire and dangerously unstable debris. Sol Branchini, 42, a veteran New York firefighter, arrived at the trade center site just after the second tower collapsed,

and that evening was assigned to look for bodies, alive or dead. He worked until 10 the next morning, went home for a nap, and returned to work through another night. He helped bring out a trapped policeman during one shift. But there were few survivors, just a ghastly collection of body parts. "There were thousands of people in that building," he says. "You'd think you would find someone. No way. Nothing. It almost feels hopeless." But

they kept at it. "The saddest thing is all these people lost their families," he says. "Some kids—their mothers and their fathers worked there. It's the only thing that keeps you going."

For some, "normal" is relative. William Brooks, an Ottawa-based psychologist and trauma counselor, says survivors and victim families will never be the same. They will likely suffer sleep disturbances, anxiety, fear of the unknown and of a resur-

gence, and a sense of helplessness. The tragedy, he says, "shattered the assumptions of safety and security that most people have." Psychiatrist Brian Hoffman, a trauma specialist at the University of Toronto, compares it to the morality of people living in a war zone. "Their lives have been totally turned upside-down," he says. And it will be felt worldwide, albeit to a lesser degree, because of TV. "News happens right in our homes," Hoffman says. "So nothing feels safe."

At week's end, most of the trade center victims remained buried somewhere beneath millions of tons of broken glass and crushed concrete, tangled cables and mangled girders. Relatives gathered outside the help and information center at Lexington Avenue and East 26th Street, and poured hundreds of colorful photographs of missing loved ones—snapshots of them laughing, at weddings, holding children or pets. The images are stuck close together on trees, walls, telephone poles, and bones and even garbage bins around the busy intersection, like a collection of floating quills. G. I. Siani, 57, was stepping down from a makeshift ladder he'd used to post a picture of a friend. "You have to think positive," Siani says. Nearby, Tom Gathery was showing a picture of his sister-in-law, who'd been working on the 103rd floor of the south tower. "You never know, she may be unconscious in a hospital, and not carrying her ID," he says. "Maybe someone has seen her."

The loss that hasn't been found and identified—and at week's end only 92 bodies had been—are officially listed as "missing" rather than "dead." That accounting, even now, leaves thousands of families suffering a terrible uncertainty. Their minds, filled with those searing images of Sept. 11, can't fathom how anyone could still be alive under the collapsed remains of two 110-story office towers. But their hearts, refusing to give up, cling to the dream of hope.

With Benoit Aubin and Susan Mancini in New York; William Leather in Washington; and Sharon Doyle Doolittle; Douglas Havelick; Susan McCallister; David Mark Branson; Michael Sneider; and David Wright in Toronto

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THE TERRORISTS NEXT DOOR

Although Canada was not directly implicated, experts say it remains a haven

BY JOHN GEEDS in Ottawa

The horror of the attacks in New York City and Washington was still fresh when a wave of deep frostboding began spreading in Ottawa. Please, went the unspoken pages, don't let it turn out that these terrorists got into the United States through Canada. By the morning after, the worst fear of Canada's police, intelligence and immigration authorities seemed to be coming to pass, as U.S. media reports detailed Nova Scotia and Quebec had been visiting grounds. But those stories appeared to be wrong. Two days after the hijacked planes crashed the world's sense of order, Solicitor General Lawrence MacAulay, flanked at a news conference by the heads of the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, categorically denied there was evidence of a so-called Canadian connection.

Any immediate relief, though, did little to ease the pressure that was already building on the federal government to get tougher on terrorists. A number of policies are in play. Canada's asylum system has been labelled lax as often as it has been praised as generous. A proposed new law aimed at denying charitable status to groups that finance terrorism is being slammed by critics as at best a half-measure. The way the RCMP, CSIS and immigration officials share information—or fail to—is being cited by outside observers as a serious flaw in Canada's screening of new arrivals. About the only thing not being questioned is that terrorist ac-

ty is close at hand. For if Canada isn't yet not part of the path taken by those who levelled the World Trade Center and ripped a strip out of the Pentagon, there can be no doubt that Canada, however unwillingly, harbours other men determined to turn the hate in their hearts into the death of innocents.

CSIS describes a terrorist underworld in Canada that is too big to ignore. In a re-

port made public last May, the intelligence agency estimated that 50 organizations and 350 "individual targets" with links to terrorists spread operate in Canada. "Their origins are in Punjab, Israel and the occupied territories, Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Lebanon, Turkey, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan," says the CSIS report. "Groups include Hezbollah, Hamas and Soviet Islamic extremist organizations, as well as the Irish Republican Army, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the Mujahideen e-Khalq, and various Sikh extremist groups."

If those names seem arcane from quiet Canadian life, consider the terrorist actions already launched from Canada. The most horrifying case was the murder of all 329 passengers in the 1985 bombing of an Air India flight originating in Toronto—a crime almost certainly made by Sikh radicals, although those responsible are now waiting trial. The dozen scope since then was the arrest in 1999 of Ahmed Razaavi, a member of an extremist Islamic cell in Montreal, on his way to set off a bomb at Los Angeles International Airport during millennium new year celebrations. The high-profile case of Razaavi, and five others in Canada and the U.S. accused in the conspiracy, led to debate in Washington about whether Canada is a sanctuary for violent groups from around the world.

U.S. officials levelled no charges of that sort last week. Even while the false reports that some of the hijackers had entered the



Bahoumami (top left); Razaavi (top right); Bahoumami's wanted poster, April, 2000



United States through Canada were still circulating. Paul Celucci, the American ambassador, was careful to not even hint at blaming Canada. But Celucci did pointedly suggest at a news conference in Ottawa that the time has come for Canada and the United States to work towards harmonizing immigration policies.

He said the way to avoid an excessive clampdown on security along the Canada-U.S. border is to make it harder for terrorists to land anywhere in North America from offshore. "You need to step them before they get to the border, and that requires resources for intelligence and law enforcement," he told an Ottawa news conference. "On the whole issue of should our policies, our immigration policies, be more consistent in Canada and the United States, I think that's one of the serious questions we will have to address as a result of the events of the last few days."

While Celucci did not get into specific proposals, few doubted that he had in mind Canadian fairness openness to anyone who lands and claims to be a refugee. These days, the Ahmed Razzouk case is frequently cited as an example of that policy gone awry. "We have an appalling use of control immigration and refugee situations," says David Harris, former chief of strategic planning for CSIS and now a private security consultant. "We've seen the legacy of this in the Razzouk case." Razzouk claimed refugee status when he arrived in Canada in 1994. He was re-judged (he developed convulsive epilepsy, apparently under Ottawa's policy of not sending one fraudulent claimant back to home country where they could find death).

Having beaten Canadian systems, Razzouk was able to secure a shadowy role in a Montreal " jihad cell." He travelled to Afghanistan in 1998 for six months of training by the notorious Al Qaeda organization, headed by multi-millionaire Osama bin Laden, the mild Saudi-born terrorist leader now viewed as the prime suspect in last week's attacks in the United States. On returning to Canada, Razzouk would have little time pursuing the bomb-making skills he had acquired at bin Laden's terror camp re-work. He went to Vancouver in late 1999, where he spent a few December days assembling explosives in a motel room with accomplice Abdelkader Dahoumane, who was arrested in Algeria a year later. There he packed what he'd made into a rented Chrysler and caught



Bin Laden searched for a war against America

the ferry from Victoria to Port Angeles, Wash., where a U.S. Customs officer noticed how nervous he looked and ordered him out of the boat. The explosives were in the spare tire compartment. While Washington posted a \$5-million (U.S.) reward for information leading to the capture of the fugitive Dahoumane, Razzouk was arrested, tried and convicted. He now awaits sentencing; the prison term could be up to 130 years.

While Harris blames Canada's refugee policies for allowing Razzouk to make Canada his home base, others say the real problem lies with CSIS. "The problem is not that we failed to detect a terrorist. It's that we failed to identify a terrorist," says Gordon Maynard, a Vancouver immigration lawyer. "We have to be very careful of people who say our immigration and refugee laws are too lax. We have the laws—enforcement and implementation are the challenge." In fact, why Razzouk was not singled out as a bigger risk remains a mystery. Western intelligence agencies had been under intermittent surveillance at least as far back as 1996, And Maynard, along with other defenders of Canada's refugee system, argue there are ample provisions under Canadian law to detain and deport anyone who can be shown to have links to terrorist groups.

Still, the sheer number of refugees and regular immigrants makes careful investi-

gation of each individual difficult. "We have to start to limit the level of investigation we have," says Harris. "We just cut off all proposition to what we can manage." There were about 30,000 new refugee claims last year. The main reason for so many: those coming to Canada know they will be allowed to stay, at least while they press their claims through the system.

Sherry Allen, a lawyer on the faculty of York University's Centre for Refugee Studies, says that among the many differences between the Canadian and U.S. refugee rules, the key distinction is the treatment of those who arrive with no identity documents. "People who arrive at U.S. ports of entry without documents are being summarily excluded from entry," Allen explains. "In Canada, if you arrive without documents and say that you are seeking asylum, immigration officials have immediate power to order detention, but they do not have the power to turn you away."

Celucci's proposal that Ottawa and Washington continue to look at harmonizing immigration rules in the wake of last week's attacks in America comes at an awkward time. The Canadian government has just gone through a prolonged reform of its laws, a process stretching back to 1996. A new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act was finally introduced by Citizenship and Immigration Minister Elmer Caplan in February, and is expected to be passed

The spider at the centre of a deadly web

His bearded face followed across television screens some hours after the attack, his name repeated as the ships met. Help supported responsible for so much death and destruction. Then prior to Sept. 15, 2001, Osama bin Laden, a 46-year-old Saudi-born multi-millionaire and international terrorist—was America's most wanted man. Today, he is the world's. Although in Yemen since his name is synonymous with evil, he possesses non-specified status among disaffected Muslim activists as the shaykh (teacher) in the side of the United States.

Born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 1957 to a father who would become one of the country's largest oil men, bin Laden's early life was marked by his father's early life of pilgrimage. But in 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, he left Saudi Arabia and used his considerable wealth and connections to help train and aid the country's mujahideen guerrilla fighters. Since then, bin Laden, with every shipment of weapons, troops and gas he brought into the war effort, his influence and stature grew. The

Alghorri rebels were who backed by the United States, which funnelled \$3 billion into the conflict and linked mujahideen fighters. According to some reports, the CIA may also have helped bin Laden and his fighters in later battles. But bin Laden did not ask upon the United States as Afghanistan—a Islamic's paradise.

After the Soviet withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia a hero, and became an outspoken opponent of the new family's rule. He fled the kingdom for Sudan in 1991. In the wake of the Persian Gulf War, coinciding the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia—how to learn his father's son, Osama and bin Laden—his efforts to his religion. Since then, bin Laden has quietly advocated the removal of U.S. troops from Saudi Arabia and the destruction of Israel—and has issued calls to Muslims to "kill Americans and the Jews." In 1994, Saudi Arabia withdrew bin Laden's citizenship, ending his passport.

Since 1995, bin Laden has operated from several bases in Afghanistan. Through his network of supporters known as Al-Qaeda, he has been con-

tinued to strip away charitable status from organizations that funnel funds to offshore terrorist groups—essentially discouraging the nation to subsidize for exporting terror.

But Harris calls it "an international strategy" that Canada supported short of marching British and U.S. law that bin the financing of terrorism outright—no merely deny the fund-raising the privilege of rewarding their supporters with tax receipts. "My understanding," he said, "is that bin Laden's activities, many of which have sympathies with terrorist supporters, has stalled attempts to bar this kind of financial support."

Still, even the limited measure drafted by MacAulay and Cauchon has drawn angry opposition from the Canadian Arab Federation, an umbrella group of more than 20 groups, and the Canadian Islamic Congress, which has threatened to mount a constitutional challenge of the act. Both groups charge that their communities are being stereotyped by the legislation. The Canadian Jewish Congress, on the other hand, has urged the government to go further by making raising money for terrorism a criminal offence.

Beyond questions about whether federal laws need to be tougher to assess like refugee claims and terrorist fund-raising, experts point to other, purely technical, problems that need to be addressed. One Islamic char-

tered to transfer activities in Africa, the Middle East and the United States, where he is believed to have been behind the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, which left six dead and injured more than 1,000. He is suspected of financing guerrillas in Somalia, Algeria and Georgia. And members of Al Qaeda based in Afghanistan, southern as a UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia in 1993, simultaneously showing up U.S. ambassador in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and crippling the 1998 Oslo last year. The U.S. state department has labelled bin Laden "one of the most significant terrorist sponsors of Islamic extremist activities in the world."

Not with every terrorist act and every failed attempt by the United States to capture or kill bin Laden's status remains. "We're the ones who can take on the Great Satan and all," said one Middle East intelligence expert. "Because so much publicity has been given to him, he comes off as a folk hero. The kids like him." In the wake of last week's horror, finding the elusive bin Laden may not seem be the world's most difficult task. Nudging the myth and maintaining his supporters could prove much harder.

Michael Sauter

man of the Canadian Bar Association's immigration law section, stresses the need to make Canadian documents, which do not carry a passport, harder to forge. "Our immigrant visa is the most often used fraudulent document in our system," Harris says, adding that the U.S. goes and a harder to forge. Immigration officials work towards making Canada's documents more of a challenge for forgers to sell under way. As well, Treiser said Canada's immigration officials badly need to get much better computer access to CSIS and police information when they're checking the backgrounds of refugee claimants. Federal officials did not respond last week to questions about any plans to improve the way they share information among their computer systems.

Porting better systems in place to try to stop terrorists from getting into Canada is part of the challenge. But how to catch up with those who inevitably will slip through—and how to deal with any supporters they had been—is a much more sensitive subject. There is no doubt that some members of some ethnic communities in Canada support groups branded terrorists by Western intelligence services. Last year, Finance Minister Paul Martin got caught up in one dispute over the dividing line between who's legitimate and who's not. In May 2003, he attended a dinner held by an association identified by CSIS as active in funneling money to

the Tarnit Tigers, the group that has been waging a violent campaign since 1983 for Tamil independence from Sri Lanka's Sinhalese majority. The Tigers are considered terrorists by CSIS, their Canadian supporters are known as "Snow Tigers." Martin and he were attending a cultural event and had done nothing wrong. Perhaps even more troubling to the

RCMP and CSIS than fund-raising for questionable causes abroad are cases where someone seems to have found a safe haven in Canada. In one case cited in the CSIS terrorism report, Husein al-Sayid, a suspect in the deaths of 19 American soldiers in a June 1996 truck bombing at the Khobar Towers complex in Saudi Arabia, passed through several countries before arriving in

Canada two months later. CSIS says al-Sayid tried to slip quietly into the Arab community, studying English, and working part time. The Hezbollah member was arrested in March 1997, deported to the U.S. in June of that year, and finally to Saudi Arabia in October, 1999, to face charges.

In another safe-haven case cited in the report, Aynur Saygi, a member of the Kurdish separatist group PKK, which is fighting to create an independent state within Turkey, entered Canada under a false name in May 1996, and became involved in the Kurdish Cultural Association of Montreal, before being arrested a few months later. CSIS claims she was the second PKK member sent to Canada to try to gain influence in the Kurdish community. When the PKK's leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was arrested in Kenya in 1999, the depth of support for him among Kurds in Canada became clear. PKK supporters moved to Ottawa, clashing with police. One officer lost an eye.

While the Kurds, Tamils and Sikh separatist movements attract their share of attention in Canada, it's the even more complex world of Islamic extremism that's under closer scrutiny now. Experts say the key issue is shaping the current perception of violent Islamic radicals was the war to free Afghanistan from Soviet control during the endgame of the Cold War. When that struggle was over, many of those fighters who had rallied to push the Russians out scattered to Muslim communities around the world, from Egypt to Gaza to Algeria, and to cells in the West, from London to Paris to Montreal. The most critical made a new name, with the financial backing of bin Laden, out of Iraq for land and the United States.

That movement—that is the world for such a loosely connected international network—is all the more frightening for having no obvious center to strike at. As Ottawa prepares to rethink the way it defends Canada against such a threat, and how it might support Washington in a new North American strategy to keep out terrorism, the challenge will be to do enough without letting the reasonable reaction to last week's outrage go too far.

Should Canada join the United States in any military action against the perpetrators of the terror attack?



Donald Coxo

A question of leadership

I awoke with a start from a nightmare at 3 a.m. Wednesday. I dreamt that terrorists had attacked the World Trade Center, killing thousands, including many people I knew. It took me a few seconds to realize it wasn't a dream.

Terrorists had attacked what they thought was the evil heart of America by attacking "The Street."

"The Street" is a collection of people, places, buildings and businesses scattered across the U.S., but headquartered in downtown and midtown Manhattan, New York City, and, increasingly, the biggest trading center of capitalism. Within a few meters of my office in Chicago are the global trading centers for futures, derivatives and options. The value of daily trading here of these instruments dwarfs the value of all trades in all global "cash" or "spot" exchanges. That's why buildings like ours in the Loop were evacuated Tuesday morning; authorities feared another hijacked plane would hit here.

I worked as a stranger on Wall Street for six years before moving to Chicago in 1993. That means I know many people who worked in the Trade Center. As of now, I cannot be sure how many are dead. Those for whom there seems to be the least hope are the people at Cansor Frangidaki, a first-class institutional dealer that occupied the top floor of the north tower. We were on the phone with them when the first went down. In a few moments we heard, with disbelief, that a plane had hit their building.

The stories have kept flooding in. There may have been as many as 500 people having breakfast in the Windows on the World restaurant at the top of the tower. A friend with a London investment management organization told of sitting at their trading desk with a aquapack connected to their U.S. traders in the center. They heard the whole catastrophe unfold as their trapped colleagues died.

I have been swamped with calls asking, "What do these horizons portend for the economy and the financial markets?" The instant analysts say that slaughter guarantees a global recession. The U.S. economy was perilously close to a recession when the towers fell and this ghastly event could be the tipping point that could trigger a deep recession. The forecasts point to the sudden consumer-led recession the U.S. experienced in 1990 before the 100-hour "victory" of Desert Storm.

Those are persuasive arguments. But I think it could be different this time. That time a recession came because of the con-



U.S. consumers will respond to both

campaign waged by the Senate Democrats who opposed fighting Iraq. Edward Kennedy stated that there would be thousands of American body bags. George the First barely got Senate backing for U.S. military involvement, as 45 Democrats voted against him. Fears of large-scale casualties produced an instant collapse in consumer confidence at a time when stores were loaded with Christmas merchandise. The economy fell into an unnecessary recession. Confidence snapped back after Desert Storm.

This time, Congressional Democrats are plotting to back the President. Teddy Kennedy wouldn't dare fight against a military response because two of the killer planes took off from Ronald Reagan Airport. The prospect of a U.S.-led plunge into global recession should energize the central bankers into vigorous monetary expansion. Another drop in global interest rates should be enough to set the stage for a comeback. The central bankers were meeting in Basel, Switzerland, when the planes hit the towers. They work for the services claim a global recession as another trophy for their efforts.

The sudden spike in oil prices is a reflex response, not a new trend to \$40 a barrel. Even if the U.S. were to attack Afghanistan or even Iraq, OPEC would have little trouble meeting the weak global demand for oil. That means inflation rates will continue to fall. The more they fall, the more room central bankers have to ease rates.

The overarching question, surely, is the American psyche. This is likely to mark in the largest one-day killing of Americans since the Civil War. What Americans need now is evidence that George the Second is a true leader. He warms his gunnison, but he fell off the fair track. Now he has had the challenge thrust upon him. If Americans see him as a strong wartime president, they will respond to those lower interest rates and tax cuts with optimism. Global economists agree that the U.S. consumer is the key to the world economy. If Americans lose faith in their leadership with the economy on the knife edge of recession, then the economy will have won.

This is the worst of times. Although it cannot be the best of times, it could, with some good luck and good management, emerge on the upside. Death be not proud.

Donald Coxo is chairman of Harris Investments Management in Chicago and Toronto-based Jann Howard Investments.

A wake-up call for more airport security

For most air travelers, security guards scanning their luggage are little more than an annoyance. A quick once-over with an electronic wand, and you're off. But the so-called hijackings of four planes and the ensuing terror in New York City, Washington and Pennsylvania amount to a tragic wake-up call. In the future, boarding a plane will be anything but routine. "We've gone up a quantum leap where people have failed airport security with huge losses of life," says Peter St. John, a University of Waterloo professor and leading authority on airport security. "This calls for a radical reevaluation of how security at airports is carried out."

Western nations first began beefing up airport and airline security in 1976, after terrorists started hijacking passenger jets. Armed sky mariners disguised as passengers were routinely on flights to help protect themselves. But following the bombing of Pan Am Flight 303 over London, Scotland, on Dec. 21, 1938, the number of hijackings dropped drastically in the West, due to the threat faced. St. John says, security at North American airports became lax.

Now, author says, not sophisticated terrorists and X-rays are used to search for weapons and explosives. The problem, experts say, is more one of personnel. In Canada, St. John says, the government's decline in photos at major airports has resulted in profit-conscious airport administrators hiring security who do not like to be there. "We've got a lot of people looking to be in a different job. And some North America, workers such as baggage handlers are often hired without extensive background checks."

The growing problem was highlighted at Boston's Logan Airport, from which two of the four planes hijacked last week departed. Logan has been fired dozens of times over the last three years by the U.S. Federal Aviation Authority for security violations, but little was done to upgrade to security personnel. Experts say other airports are also sloppy. "We've become complacent," says Jerome Hume, managing director of New York City-based Bell Associates, a leading international security firm. "We have gotten to a point where we need to get airport security more stringent again."

This process is already under way in the U.S. Within hours of the attack, the FAA announced a number of new measures. Airports will be required to boost the number of security officers and more thoroughly search all airplanes before allowing passengers to board. All lanes, including photo lanes, will be scanned. All machines, which were not kept checked out, made more.

These tough measures are expected to be adopted in Canada as well. "It's just common sense," says Transport Minister David Colville. "It's going to take longer as long as get through security." Even such hardened provocateurs, despite, may be impressed. St. John says Canada should follow the lead of many European governments and take over administration of all aspects of airport security that is the final mission, which safety can never be guaranteed. "There is no current in this whole thing," said Hume. "It is a terrorist who is to be done like this. It is very difficult to stop him."

Don Fennell



Dogs and scanners are not enough

'INSULT TO INJURY'

A Middle East hand tells what Washington knows—or should have

Marwan, Canadian journalist Aron Kira, who gained international fame in the "Soul Squad" of the Gulf War, has an intimate knowledge of the Middle East. Fluent in several Afghan dialects, Kira, based in England, regularly visits Afghanistan and nearby countries. In Washington last week, he analyzed the situation in this report for *Maclean's*.

To someone standing before the gaping wound on the Pentagon's rampart at the end of last week, the damage seemed as disturbing as irreparable. Could this twisted wreckage, and the tales of those fabulous twin towers in New York City, be the latest addition to the bombed-out ruins of the Afghan war, half a world away? Are they symbols of a war without end, companion pieces to the bullet-riddled shell of the Afghan king's summer palace at Paghman, the rubble that was once Kabul's fabled Mazar-e-Sharif, the hypocritically serene Buddhist statues of Bamiyan, blown to dust this past spring and lost to history?

The evidence piling up in the United States says yes. In commercial battles beneath the towers of Arlington, Va., Pentagon war planners, mindful that the north of at least 124 colleagues is still being closed above their heads, are drawing a bead on the most outrageous element of the Afghan configuration, Osama bin Laden, and his associates. That their prime suspect sowed the seeds of his movement in part with American tax dollars, misdirected during the CIA's support of anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan, adds insult to injury for the U.S. military intelligence community. That bin Laden, and the Taliban regime that protects him, co-opted to become such formidable, destructive forces, and died in view of Western powers, is nothing short of a damning indictment of the lack of resolve from all civilized nations—including Canada—

that have been little more than ineffectual bystanders to events in Afghanistan.

Why? Because it's hard to imagine the emergence of such a determined, distillately determined and sophisticated terrorist such as bin Laden without the Afghan war. Which, to put it bluntly, the world hasn't done enough to resolve. The war began in April, 1978, with a Communist coup



The damage to the Pentagon looks like the outcome of Afghanistan, says Kira

From the invasion of Soviet forces to their withdrawal in 1989, through the subsequent civil war that toppled the Afghan Communists in 1992, to the rise of the Taliban and the chaos, ever since, created by these most repulsive of warlords and their enemies, the fighting in Afghanistan is in its 23rd year with no end in sight.

The Afghan people formed the largest refugee migration from war in the 20th century, according to the United Nations. They're the 21st century's largest refugee population. Last month, they became the most numerous seekers of asylum in Britain. By any measure, their homeland is a place of torment—and opportunity for bin Laden.

Afghans men 25 years of age know nothing, but war, displacement and refugee camps in their lives. Kabulians know an easier to come by than toothbrushes. The only real job prospects mean collecting a few hundred Afghani a week for shooting at another dramatic event—something on the next hill. It's a vendetta field of despair for any content to cultivate, but in Osama bin Laden's hands it has become the crucible for what George W. Bush admits is the first war of the 21st century.

As any decent Afghan will tell you—and it's vital to stress that almost all Afghan people fear and detest everything bin Laden and the Taliban represent—over the West have only ourselves to blame for their homeland becoming a terrorist haven. The U.S. and other wealthy countries that poured cash and arms into the war against the Soviets in the 1980s haven't listened even a fraction of those amounts towards peace and stable governments. Instead, when Western powers slapped themselves on the back for beating the Soviets and walked away, they left the worst of Afghanistan's warlords holding most of the guns and money.

It took only a few years for a U.S. administration to suffer consequences. In 1998, the best FBI Chatter could do was firing cruise missiles at bin Laden following the bombing of two U.S. embassies in Africa. Only a decade after the most costly covert support operation in the history of the CIA (the program to bolster anti-Soviet Afghan resistance groups), the American president was reduced to an action that yielded nothing, not extradition, no capture, not even a profile was on the rise.

According to tribal elders with knowledge of the Taliban regime in Kabul, bin Laden's influence, and that of his fellow Arab cohorts, resulted in the destruction of the mountainside Buddhas at Bamiyan,



Scene of the Palestinians at Al-Azraq refugee camp near Sidon in south Lebanon cheered the news of the U.S. attacks

the tagging of non-Muslims in the capital, and the prosecution of Christian aid workers accused of proselytizing. Not only in bin Laden the father-in-law of supreme Taliban leader Mohammed Omar, having groomed the one-eyed mullah from Kandahar one of his daughters in marriage, but he has blended himself into the hardcore components of the regime's leadership.

This, along with the global notoriety he courts, answers the dreams of a deeply disturbed young man born 44 years ago to a lowly position in a fractured, ultra-wealthy Arab family Osama was renowned, tall and sickly as a youth. He was groomed by older half-brothers, who crossed the wealth of their billionaire father, Mohammed bin Laden, a construction magnate of Somali birth and favorite of the Saudi royal family. Osama grew up a recluse who wandered far from home, yearning for a cause. He found it in the struggle of the Afghan people against the godless Soviet invader, a noble endeavor that he and other commanders mixed with religious militancy.

As a pilgrim to war in the mid-80s, he won equal measures of indulgence and hostility from his Afghan hosts. The former was bought with his vast wealth from mujahideen fundametalists, the former was the latter with his disregard for Afghan traditions, such as the granting of women hospitality to foreigners, including people of non-Muslim faith and culture. On the battlefield, bin Laden was pious, doctrinaire and angry. His Afghan followers scorned Western aid workers and journalists.

When challenged for those affronts by Afghan mujahideen commanders who recruited prisoners reaching themselves to him, bin Laden took shelter with fundamentalists—the Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who in the 1980s received, by way of the CIA's corrupt middlemen in the Pakistan military, the bulk of U.S. military aid.

All this was brought to the attention of U.S. diplomats—and ipso—in Islamabad, Pakistan, which in the 1980s was the biggest CIA station outside the agency's Langley, Va., headquarters. Nothing was done. Afghanistan sank further into civil war. Men like Hekmatyar and bin Laden flourished. It's significant that just three days before the suicide attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, another pair of fathers dispatched by bin Laden, poisoning Algerian journalists, blew



For Afghans seen in their 20s, submarine guns are easier to come by than toothbrushes. Still wonder that bin Laden gives commands—and the West, more examples.

themselves up with a concealed bomb, finally wounding the respected anti-Taliban commander, Ahmed Shah Massoud—an arch-enemy, too, of Hekmatyar's.

One source in Washington's intelligence community told *Maclean's* that the hit on Massoud was not coincidental. The guerrilla commander's exploits against the Soviets are part of Afghan legend, and his resistance to the Taliban had been resolute, even though ill-served support from the West limited his effectiveness. Massoud would likely have become the recipient of strong new U.S. backing following the attacks in New York and Washington. In removing Massoud, bin Laden and the Taliban may be hoping to cause doubt in the minds of American strategists that the anti-Taliban alliance can function without their beloved leader.

The good news for Washington is that Massoud's death was a success. Gen. Mohammed Fikri, a cunning, popular commander, is demonstrated on the day of the U.S. attacks. Fikri's dramatic helicopter landing under darkness to sucker Taliban warriors at Kabul airport; two jets were destroyed and an ammunition dump burned brightly for the camera of CNN, telecasting from the balcony of the White House.

The bad news is that Afghanistan remains a quagmire for any power seeking resolution, and one that is surrounded by other troublesome zones, namely Iran and Pakistan. Secretary of State Colin Powell assisted a good deal of attention his week on his requests of Pakistan's dictator, President Pervez Musharraf, to demand Osama bin Laden's surrender from the Taliban. For



French elite forces storm a hijacked jet on the Marseille airport runway in 1994

ANOTHER WORD FOR TERRORIST? NOT PSYCHOPATH

The sets of terrorists in American soil last week are as psychotic that people inevitably needed for terms like "madman" and "psychopath" to label those responsible. Unfortunately, the word is not as simple. Experts worldwide now generally accept that, in fact, terrorists are not madmen. It's their ordinary people driven to violence by anger. "A psychopath would not be capable of this level of planning or so-called," says Dr. Andrew Silke, police studies lecturer at the University of Leicester in England who has done extensive research on the psychology of terrorists.

"But it is still troubling because it means that if they're ordinary people, then anyone, under the right circumstances, could become a terrorist." In most cases, Silke says, what pushes people past anger and into terrorist activities is a "catalyst event" or act of gross injustice. They come from a wide range of backgrounds—wealthy, educated, poor, devout, agnostic—but terrorists tend to have experienced a violent act, either against themselves, their family, or someone with whom they identify. "These guys are highly committed, highly determined people," says Silke. "They feel that what they're doing—killing a plane and killing all these innocent people—is helping to right injustices elsewhere in the world. They don't feel any sense of shame or guilt. Terrorists always believe that they are engaged in a war."

Silke believes the planners behind last week's attack may have drawn inspiration from the 1994 hijacking of an Air France jet by Algerian extremists. Their plan to blow the plane up over Paris failed when French police stormed the jet when it was on the runway in Marseille. "But then having taken that inspiration," he says, "they have shown a frighteningly high degree of organization and preparation. This was an exceptional effort. They would not be able to repeat this quickly or easily at all. We are kind of sure that this was the limit, the absolute limit of what they could do on U.S. soil."

The severity of the attack has prompted many to envision it to be the 9/11 equivalent attack on Pearl Harbor. Silke disagrees—for the terrorists, he says, this attack is the Doublet Field of the sea. In April, 1942, under the command of Lt. Col. James Doolittle, the Americans sent an aircraft carrier into Japanese waters and launched bombers to strike Tokyo. It was the Americans' first bombing raid on Japan, and while it inflicted little damage, it had a major psychological effect on the Japanese. Last week's attacks in New York City, Silke suggests, were designed to give terrorists a similar boost from their acts of revenge. "You can attack anywhere around the world, but really getting at the heart of America is very, very difficult," he says. "That is what this attack was about—saying, 'Here is a taste of our life. We're making you pay.'"

For a long, huge conspiracy now to what the Americans will do to seek revenge. Silke says that previously massive military retaliation has proved not to work. It instead prompts more acts of revenge—and results more terrorism. Unfortunately, says Silke, American leaders must deal with fear if only to placate their nation. But that would not be the way to win a war, he says. "If they kill the actual terrorists, they are going to become martyrs," he explains. "If they kill innocent people, it's going to be an incentive for others to join wars against America. In a sense, they are in a no-win situation here."

Andy Green

public consumption. Musharraf initially responded with the same shuffly used by many Pakistan leaders—saying, in effect, we really aren't doing anything to help the Taliban, our audience is limited.

This time, presumably, Powell rebuffed Pakistan's denial by laying out evidence of its military's role in bringing the Taliban to power in 1995 and keeping them there. But even in finally agreeing to Washington's demands for use of Pakistan's territory and as a base, Musharraf faces a huge challenge. His own country is ruled by inept Islamic fundamentalists. Pakistan's Sunni Muslim activists helped the newly born Taliban movement to set free in 1990. Refugees camped religious schools in Pakistan were the Taliban headquarters. With graffiti among civil ethnic groups lighting up Karachi, and conflict over Kashmir still on the boil, Musharraf can't afford the risk that will likely follow Pakistan's-sided reprisals against bin Laden and the Taliban.

On the periphery of those power plays are ordinary Afghans, who exist in the harsh confinement of camps or in their homeland as internal refugees. Many civilians will have viewed the flaring World Trade Center with anxiety equal to that of Americans. The Afghans are experienced in recognizing the first terrifying acts of yet another arbitrary drama. The wrong people are usually-guilty in 80 per cent of 15 estimated that more than 400 per cent of 15 million Afghans would have their lives at fighting were noncombatants.

Against this backdrop, the dilemma confronting the United States and its allies is clear. Disproportionate to the proportion of civilian crimes will be dangerous. Any large deployment of forces, or the use of a lot of modern weaponry, will almost certainly result in civilian deaths. That would be a gift to enemy forces, boosting their image as protectors of poor, down-trodden Muslims everywhere, and compounding the damage in New York and Washington.

This time, in the war room of the Pentagon, there can be no excuse. Henry speaks eloquently of people and places at the core of a crisis. As never before, the words "collateral damage" are synonymous with failure, the haunting byword of the American experience in Afghanistan.



Manhattan Aftermath

New Yorkers try to come to terms with the horror that struck their city

Seven after last week's attack, Maclean's Toronto-based Senior Writer Robert Sheppard and Montreal Bureau Chief Benoit Aubin headed towards ground zero. After lengthy drives, they found a New York City slowly coming back to life, still aware of what had hit it. Their impressions

BY ROBERT SHEPPARD

It's a brilliant day in Manhattan—crisp, sunny blue skies—a street's glory adding to the wound. Witnessed from the train coming in from New Jersey, the plume of smoke from what were once the twin towers of the World Trade Center rises straight up like a shroud. The sun's reflection through the burning chemicals in the smoke has earned it a smoldering shade of lavender.

It's the day after the deadliest attack on the heart of New York's financial district, and the streets of downtown Manhattan are eerily beautiful. They're almost devoid of cars. Emergency forces have commandeered some of the main arteries for their vehicles and the dump trucks—320 in the first night alone—trying valiantly to haul away debris. With fire cars about, politicians have taken over the streets. Rollerblades glide, strollers, there is even an ice-cream vendor on a bike. It's like one of those rare snowstorms that occasionally shut down the place, someone says. Or a modern European city on a Sunday afternoon. For locals, what is truly noticeable is the silence. Then Kelley, an accountant who lives and works only a few blocks from the massive complex, remembers the first terrorist attack on the centre in 1993. "The sirens never stopped," he recalls. "They went on for days." That was when police and ambulances went back and forth with newly discovered victims. But this time, he says, "It's been quiet—and that's the horrible thing."

New York picked up its bustle, slowly at first and then with more defined din as the week wore on. But below Houston Street—the officially imposed dividing line separating the rest of Manhattan from what, for all intents and purposes, is a war zone—the mood is much different. People have stopped talking, except on cellphones, but they haven't stopped gawking. This is New York, after all, the right to gawk is genetic. Few more years

eyes. Those who live there are hunkered down. Or they live like gypsies: their apartments lacking water or electricity or both, they bunk in with friends or co-workers, returning home only to grab pouches of clothes.

Even the police and emergency workers seem less attentive in the war zone, content to let the locals wander about perilously close to the front lines. Perhaps because the realisation has come more quickly to them than they are not guarding an accident site as much as anyone in a brutal ground. The 21st-century's fire pogrom, someone called it.

The area surrounding the trade center catastrophe, a rubble that includes much of Wall Street, has that gritty, bombed-out look that North Americans have never witnessed before firsthand. Burned-out cars and police vehicles line the streets, caked in a fine silvery ash.

The smoke vehicles and dump trucks, from across New York and neighbouring areas, are arrayed in a magnificent procession. The logistics of the rescue work are truly impressive. Entire teams of police and firefighters march into place at regular intervals. Volunteers from out of town can be seen keeping in their vans with the windows up, even in the heat of the afternoon, because of the dust. Food and water are dropped off in prodigious amounts. There's even a MASH unit—a Mobile Advanced Squad—New Hospital that's been brought in to treat the sicker dogs. Their eyes are caking up and they're being taken away falling through the rubble, one by one. But the animals are quickly patched up and sent back into the fray with a nod and a pat on the back by the others on the front ranks.

The moans of the dive-bombing and collapse of the towers are horrendous. A father was on a cellphone with his son who was trapped by the fire and had dangled to the top of the tower when the building collapsed. Everyone you talk to has known someone either directly or just removed who's been touched by tragedy. "I just feel so vulnerable now," says Debra Rich, French, an insurance director who moved into a loft in the area 25 years ago as a young adult, and is one of those second-floor-but-home. For her the World Trade Center was its fabulous collection of stories had been her neighbourhood.

mafi. She'd just been there on the weekend with her 11-year-old son and his friends shopping for books. It was a lively, bustling life. "You think of Los Angeles and its boutiques, and then in 9/11 and it was just in New York, it has no natural disasters," she said. "But if New York is going to be the proving ground for these guys, that changes everything."

Some in the area now say the worry for them is over the fiscal point of the terrorism, whoever they are, has now been destroyed. But for other New Yorkers, especially with talk of retaliation in the air, their worries are just beginning to sink in. Nareena Madhury, a former Tamilian, is an advertising executive with Ogilvy & Mather who transferred to New York five years ago to look after one of the agency's top accounts. "Both personally and professionally, it has been a reasonably positive experience," she said. But Madhury lives near the United Nations building on the east side and works in a large office tower in Times Square. Her family in Toronto has asked her to rethink her career choice and she's promised them she will—when things calm down. Still, New York seemed as safe, she said, and Washington, too. "I mean, when you're talking about the Pentagon, you are talking about someone that should be secure."

In a new sense of vulnerability seeping into the American consciousness: Clearly there has been a distinct absence of belicosity. The man of the hour in New York is Mayor Rudy Giuliani, not actually known for his mien. But when someone dares "Go get 'em, Rudy" at a public briefing last week, he quickly responded with a finger-to-the-lips "Mh-hh." The mayor's message: we are New Yorkers, we are strong and resilient and we won't be cowed, but take this one moment of pause to comfort your neighbours, to be with your families. He even urged people to go shopping and many did.

With some exceptions, the trains and subways were running. The commuter out of New Jersey was even free on the day after the bombing. The view out the window of the huge commuter plane was nothing short of spectacular. But no one pointed it out. And when I looked around the car, most people were looking the other way.

BY BENJAMIN AUBIN

Once again, history was being made in New York City, but this time, the glimmers, the hype were not in style. This was the morning after. The thing now was to try and understand.

The big city was shut off and shut down. Airports, bridges, highways were closed, so were the stock exchange, the offices, the banks and most stores. Pedestrians were walking down the middle of Fifth Avenue. Church bells were chiming. A lone jet plane flew over; everybody heard it and looked up. Nobody looking. The Empire State Building—condemned off by a drill of steel, nervous policemen—had become, once again, the office building in town.

Looking south from Union Square, one saw the place of suicide. It took a mental effort to remind oneself that the cloud of dust and soot was also made of people, those of thousands of people who, just 24 hours before, were chatting, sitting their coffee, and now were dead, killed by jumbo jets coming through the office windows, or crushed under a pile of debris bigger than Madison Square Garden. "Disbelief" is how David Rosen, a heavily armed film editor, described his state of mind. "I saw the whole thing from my rooftop in Chelsea yesterday. But today, I keep looking south, to check that the World Trade Center is still not there."

Interviewing New Yorkers was not difficult on Wednesday. They clased you to tell you their story. "My bedroom window looks directly at the World Trade Center, and I was woken up by the first explosion," says John McKinley, a waitress in a restaurant. "It was surreal, like watching *The Godfather* on TV."

In every bar, restaurant and shop, conversations were glad to TV sets, which, every 10 minutes, showed the same pictures, like a museum—everybody watching steadily every time, mesmerized, with gasps, faces, warty eyes. "The shock has brought people much closer together," says Josephine, producer in Greenwich Village. "We all know someone who knows someone who was around there Tuesday."

On Broadway at East 10th Street, Grace Church was open, welcoming everyone to come in and pray. "This neighbourhood, this city, this country relies, and will suffer for a long time," the priest intoned. "For we



With mourners to victims, candlelight vigils and heroic rescue efforts, they closed ranks and defiantly showed their resilience.



have lost a measure of our innocence." A few dozen north, another set of church, the United Nations across complex, affixed fire hoses and popcorn. "We're just trying to help," says Tim Baggott, the manager. Among the movies showing: *Apocalypse Now*, *Back Street*.



"But again, who?" The loss of innocence created by the attack is the loss of an illusion, the one Americans believed about being safe on their own territory. "We've always waged our wars for away from here, in Europe, Asia, the Middle East," said Jack Milson, an advertising photographer. "This one has hit us right here at home, and that breaks the hell out of everyone."

Thirty-six hours after the horrific attack that has altered the skyline of Manhattan, New Yorkers were lining the sidewalks of West Street, cheering and waving flags at a long ceremony of fire trucks and hundreds of rescue workers. The panic and urgency had subsided somewhat, the vehicles were rolling slowly and orderly, their occupants



waving back at the crowd, making the scene look more like a civic parade: on July 4 than the day after one of the ugliest, bloodiest mornings in the nation's history. At dusk, a candlelight vigil was held in Washington Square. Emotion ran high in the crowd, cars flowed, strangers held hands. New Yorkers were closing ranks, discovering in pain and sorrow they're no different from others.

Slowly, as the day faded into night, life—and the fleets of big yellow cabs blasting their horns—was coming back to normal uptown, near Grand Central Station. One cabbie barely expressed a curtsey behind the wheel. "I hope we catch the guy who organized this, and I hope we don't make the mistake we made with Saddam Hussein and let him live."

But graffiti in Union Square captured a more thoughtful grief: "I have nothing but angry words to say, so I say peaceful nothing."

Aimed at the heart

The U.S. capital trembled—then waved the flag

BY JULIAN BUEHRMANN in Washington

The path to the western perimeter of the Pentagon, the five-sided defense headquarters that is the embodiment of American military might, is only about 20 metres across. But the wound to America's sense of self and its previously unquestioned invincibility cut much deeper last week as the capital of the world's most powerful nation struggled to come to grips with a new reality. Nothing is safe—not the Pentagon, not the White House, not the Capitol complex housing the House of Representatives and the Senate, not anywhere, not anyone. "I don't think it's something we're just going to get over," U.S. poet laureate Billy Collins told *Maclean's*. "We're going to be solving this for years."

As the week of trauma drew on, Washington showed every sign of a jerry-rigged system returning behind closed doors. Army National Guards, the large, recruiting military-political cartoon, routinely paraded the city. Police officers proved themselves 10 metres apart around the spilled forces that surrounded the presidential mansion. The defense department put the aircraft carrier just in 15-minute scramble preparation in case terrorists were readying to strike again. Across the Potomac River in Arlington, Va., one of the 12-hectare Pentagon, one of the world's largest office buildings, a lone military helicopter circled above as workers conducted the grisly task of sifting through tons of rubble to recover the dead.

And as every perceived threat, the city awakened. On Friday *Washington*, the day after American Airlines Flight 77 smashed into the Pentagon, panic swept through the three-

sands of people working in the still-usable portions of the structure as rumours—ultimately false—circulated that another plane was on its way. "Discharge, evacuate," some yelled. FBI officers, firefighters and military personnel ran from the building. Workers on the roof shimmied down the sides. On Thursday, police evacuated the Capitol after receiving what turned out to be a false bomb threat. That night, helicopters circled the White House, searchlights illuminating the grounds.

Fear incited Anger. Grief. Patriotism. Washingtonians appeared swayed by the specter of chaos—simultaneously. Jim Flanigan, 63, came to simply stare at the White House—as he mused the most famous symbol of the country was still standing. Many sought solace in

their faith, or acts of patriotism and solidarity with the victims. Churches throughout the city filled for evening prayer vigils. Volunteers waited far more than three hours to give blood at donor centres—"I can't do anything else to help the situation," said Jessica Beuge, 25, a waitress. Everywhere, flags. A large American flag was unfurled against the scarred walls of the Pentagon. Along unintended routes, homeowners hoisted the Stars and Stripes. And at a news conference on the steps of the Capitol Tuesday evening, dozens of legislators spontaneously began singing *God Bless America* as some collected on openly wept.

There was little talk of seeking justice, only revenge—a charged atmosphere that led Martin Luther King Jr. to call a news conference and appeal to their neighbours to not take retribution against them. Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy said he had heard—falsely, as it turned out—that the Taliban in Afghanistan had photographed Washington so they had placed Osama bin Laden, suspected of masterminding the attacks, under house arrest. "F--- guy," said the address and well-timed call of the week, "responded Leahy, who is not known as a hawk. *God bless America* is not known to exact the ultimate punishment. An ABC News survey conducted Thursday found 85 per cent supporting military action, even if it means an all-out war."

The sentiment is easy to find on Washington's streets. Pentagon employee Tim Sobers, 33, a civilian network engineer, admitted to feelings of revenge. "Everybody wants to do something," Sobers said, "but we don't know what, there's no target. I have feelings of anger and I don't know what to do." Chris Calver, 38, a legal assistant, and two other law country-housed with restraint. "I feel angry. I feel a sickness in my stomach," he said. "I only take comfort in knowing a response is coming." First, though, Washington must figure out whom to punish. ■

Calls for revenge followed the attack on the Pentagon



Not all U.S. congressional leaders stood shoulder to shoulder as Bush learned the still-unsettling Portage

Bush's challenge

The President's foes unite behind him—for now

BY DAVID M. SHIRKMAN in Washington

The White House and other government buildings closed. Members of Congress standing together, holding hands and singing *God Bless America* on the steps of the Capitol, the black planes from the fire at the Pentagon hovering in the background. President Bush flying from Florida to a secure bunker under the Nebraska plains and finally returning to a dark to a virtually empty downtown Washington that was paralyzed by officers with automatic weapons.

These were the unforgivable attacks. Now came the political challenges faced by a man that prides itself on its openness, and by an untamed president who, like so many of his predecessors, came to office expecting to emphasize domestic concerns. Bush has a world of trouble to deal with, while operating in a political arena that was, in less than two weeks, invaded by an atmosphere of partisan distrust that he had days later to defuse. "The political establishments rallied around the President in the wake of the horrific attacks, with members of both parties vowing to 'stand shoulder to shoulder to fight this and stand behind the president on this matter,'" as House Speaker Dennis Hastert put it. Will it last? "The American system sometimes thinks like this very well, and the American people come together behind the president no matter who he is," says L. Sandy Maisel, a political scientist at Miami's Coral Gables College. "That will hold for a while. But how it plays out politically is different and is still up in the air."

For the moment, leading American political figures adopted warlike rhetoric. At the same time, Washington went on a wartime footing, which in political terms means that criticism of the President in the following weeks will be muted, if expressed at all. But doubts and uncertainties linger beneath the surface. Despite reasonably healthy approval ratings before the terrorist attacks, Bush hasn't yet won the confidence of his fellow Republicans and was earning the outright disdain of the Democratic Caucus. Counterterrorism experts at the same department point out that terrorist groups around the world will not sit idle as the U.S. thrusts for revenge. The biggest fear, one government expert told *Maclean's* in a private briefing, is that terrorists will strike next time by scattering a deadly poison like sarin in the New York and Washington subways or by releasing viral diseases without bacteria into the air.

For now, Bush has summoned the United States to what he called "a moment of national struggle of good versus evil." But for all the brave talk, Washington was still a jerry-rigged system, and likely will be for some time to come. "People feel very shaky and vulnerable," said Rev. James Somerville, pastor of First Baptist Church of Washington, a short walk from the White House. "They wonder whom to blame and how to go on. We need more than just politics in the next weeks. We all of us, including our politicians—need prayer and some sense of God's presence, in spite of all that has happened."

The intelligence network—Bush's father was once the director of the Central Intelligence Agency—is currently under the microscope. Senator Richard Shelby, the Alabama Republican who is vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, called last week's attacks an intelligence failure of great dimensions. "For the first time in a quarter century—since Gerald Ford created a commission to investigate covert CIA activities within the United States—all the preconditions are present for secret American intelligence operations to become a better public secret."

The reason would be that the damage Bush's determination to exact his controversial missile defense shield. Shortly after news of the attack broke, Democratic lawmakers, including senator John Kerry of Massachusetts and Joseph Biden of Delaware, both possible presidential candidates in 2004, were arguing that no missile defense can protect American interests against terrorists in Iraqian planes—or armed with chemical or biological weapons. Counterterrorism experts at the same department point out that terrorist groups around the world will not sit idle as the U.S. thrusts for revenge. The biggest fear, one government expert told *Maclean's* in a private briefing, is that terrorists will strike next time by scattering a deadly poison like sarin in the New York and Washington subways or by releasing viral diseases without bacteria into the air.

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David M. Shirikman is the Pulitzer Prize-winning Washington bureau chief of *The Boston Globe*.

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AN OPEN BORDER?

The post-terror crackdown intensifies calls for a U.S.-Canada perimeter

BY MARY MANNING



It was with such satiny pride, less than 23 months ago, that Canada and the United States inaugurated their Fast Lane, Osa, come to speed up border crossings for commercial vehicles. Trucks could pull over well before the Peace Bridge at a processing centre, get a bar code affixed to their paperwork—and for those papers to a U.S. customs broker. They could then shuffle off to Buffalo, N.Y., without hindrance. Today, that system has become a painful memory. Less than 48 international hours after the terrorist attack in the U.S., there was a backlog of 500 trucks in the Fast Lane River Truck parking lot. Every 45 minutes, Canadian officials allowed 20 trucks to approach customs stations—making a waiting time per truck of about 18 hours. And the lineup showed little sign of abating there—or at many other transit points across the nation. At the Pacific Highway crossing in Surrey, B.C., there was a four-hour wait. On the Windsor, Ont., Ambassador Bridge, the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency announced was blunt and probably prophetic: “Backlog is so extreme, it is impossible to estimate wait times.”

The largest undefended border in the world is under siege. The crackdown is obvious and understandable after the horror of the attacks—and the initial reports, later denied, that some terrorists may have used Canada as a staging area. But it also threatens the long tradition of rough-hewn relations and the very foundation of the Canadian economy. Individuals make more than 250 million border crossings each year. Two-way trade between Canada and the United States is now \$1.7 billion per day, and 70 percent of—\$1.2 billion worth—goes by land. Roughly three-quarters of Canadian manufacturing out-

put is sold to the United States.

In short, trade in everything from state-of-the-art parts to agricultural peripherals is now at risk. “Canadians who have enjoyed easy access to the United States all of their lifetimes may now be subject to much more vigorous scrutiny,” says David Zemanov, the influential president of the Ottawa-based Public Policy Forum, who has been pushing for the formation of a cabinet committee on Canada-U.S. issues such as security. “Given the just-in-time economy, where people do not stock up on inventory but buy them when they are needed, we have to be able to assure U.S. customers that they can get what they need on time. If things are going to be held up at the border, we run the risk of losing large sections of economic activity.”

Experts agree the only solution to the economic crunch is to allow U.S. firms about security. And that means, over the next few weeks, that Canada is going to have to explore everything from tighter investigation and intelligence to the whole notion of a common Canada-U.S. perimeter that would strictly screen all newcomers at the point of entry. More pre-clearance sites for travelling operations could be established at a distance from the border. Random security spot checks at any point in transit could become the norm. Last week, U.S. Ambassador Paul Cellucci even suggested that both nations begin a common immigration policy—and then adopt a common perimeter. That would permit the removal of border checkpoints and thus “remove resources for law enforcement and intelligence.”

Cellucci's remarks were mild. But so are some doubts that the Americans will now be calling many Canadian policy shots. George Haynal, a fellow at Harvard University's International Center for Immigration Affairs, points out that there is no difference in the basic objectives that both nations bring to border screening: for one,



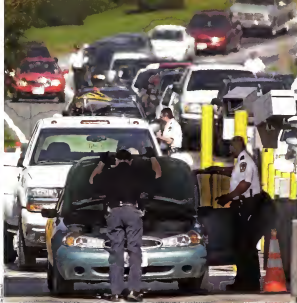
RECIPE FOR GRIDLOCK

Waiting through Canada-U.S. border checkpoints every day are:

- 37,000 trucks
- 251,000 passenger vehicles
- 656,000 people
- \$1.2 billion worth of goods

they want to keep out terrorists. Canada may find it necessary to consider a joint perimeter and enforce closely co-ordinated laws—if only to keep open the physical border. “The question that Canadian policy-makers have to be asking themselves is at the price that is going to be demanded—and what is going to be acceptable to us—in return for assured security,” says Haynal, former Canadian consul general in New York. He adds casually: “The search for problems outside the borders of the United States may become very important in this country.”

Unfortunately, Canada may be unable to respond quickly to those complaints. On the day before the attacks, Thomas d'Aquino, president of the Business Coun-



Checking cars last week at the Peace Arch U.S. border checkpoint near Blaine, Wash.; the clogged Niagara Falls crossing (opposite)

cil on National Issues, convened a small group of Canadian and U.S. executives to discuss relations between the two nations. To everyone's surprise, the discussion centred around U.S. security concerns about Canada, ranging from its ability to police its border to its relatively small contribution to NATO. The group also concluded that there was no co-ordinated federal approach to cross-border issues with strong backing from politicians. “Americans are going to pour more resources and time into checking shipments—and that is going to hurt us economically,” says d'Aquino. “So there is urgency in finding ways to deal with their security

concerns away from the actual border.” In the end, however, Canada may have little choice but to do exactly what the Americans want. Two years ago, the U.S. state department hinted that sensitive military technology might pass through Canada to rogue regimes. So it abruptly removed Canadian exemption to the U.S. International Trafficking in Arms Regulations, which govern the sale of U.S. weaponry and defence technology. Overnight, Canadian companies faced the loss of about \$1 billion in annual sales. In vain, Canada argued against the measure. Finally, to preserve Canadian jobs and contacts, Ottawa harmonized its export

controls with the U.S. list. “If the Americans raise the security bar, they will expect us to go along with them,” says York University defence analyst Martin Stadel. “It has been clear for some time that they thought we were a bit lax over everything from border controls to arms exports.” Still, as border traffic slows to a crawl, Canadian officials are finding small comforts. “From a security perspective,” says Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Amanda Lewis, “the more fact that the border is still open is so phenomenal that the European cannot comprehend it.” That captures both the pressure and the perilous grace of the Canada-U.S. kinship. □

TARGET: BUSINESS

The impact on the financial community was as much emotional as economic

BY KATHERINE MACALEN

The O'Neill was attending a conference in the ballroom of the Marriott World Trade Center Hotel, which sits adjacent to the twin towers, when the first plane hit the north tower of the complex. The room shook "like a minor earthquake," recalls the chief economist of the Bank of Montreal. There was no noise, aside from the rattling of the chandeliers. "Only once we were outside," he says, "did we realize there'd been an explosion." With colleagues, he walked towards the East River. They were close to the waterfront when they heard the second plane's approach. "I looked up and watched as a large jet plane plowed into the side of the second tower," O'Neill says. "It was shocking, astounding, surreal—all the adjectives you could imagine to use to describe the unimaginable."

The attack on the World Trade Center, symbol of Wall Street and a once tall and mighty tribute to U.S. capitalism, continues to reverberate through the financial services industry. While the buildings and some businesses have been destroyed, the connectivity—the broken and hardened, their lawyers and consultants—is mulling from the realization that is, along with the political and military embankment, was a target. This is an upsurge of coherence again—there are the hip-locks boys who roll the dice and play the market. Sometimes they win sometimes they lose. But until last week, what they lost was money, not lives. The game they played was convenient and, for the most part, decent. But the explosions rocked, both literally and figuratively, the foundations of their domain. "It makes you look at the world in a different way," says Toronto native Don Newman, a 25-year-old financial analyst with Goldman Sachs, who saw the attack from his 45th-floor office window 10 blocks south of the towers. "Right now,



O'Neill reunited with wife Lole in Toronto; New Yorkers flee the catastrophe

working and making money do not seem so important. It really doesn't matter when people are buried under rubble."

It will be tough to assess the true impact of the attacks on business, on the world of finance, on the economy. How to calculate the cost of terror? Of confidence shaken? Alongside the human toll, what's the price as he paid for the suffering and sadness that has struck the financial community, and beyond? "It has a very broad impact," says Tony Comper, chairman of the Bank of Montreal. "It's an unbelievable tragedy. Although we talk about markets, the financial services industry is really about people dealing with people." His first job as a banker, he says, is to support his staff, many of whom have lost friends and colleagues. ARMO Nashat Banni, managing director, David Barlow, was visiting clients at the World Trade Center when it was hit, and was unaccounted for his week. Colleagues in Toronto were shaken, as he had managed them from a wireless device that the building had been hit. It was serious, and he needed help, he wrote. A reply e-mail went unanswered. "The tragedy in the United States hit us right at home," Comper says. "This didn't happen in our neighbour's backyard—this happened in ours."

When the south tower came down, O'Neill was close enough that he was showered with dust and ash, although other buildings blocked his view of the collapse. "It was like seeing the fog in St. John's roll in," says O'Neill, "but it was thick smoke, enveloping us." He was with a group of about a dozen people from the

conference, including some foreign attendees whose passports had been left behind in the hotel, and they were now walking, alongside thousands of others, away from the devastation of the trade centre. Then the north tower imploded. The smoke was acid, thick and persistent, he says. "I could taste it."

Over the short years, experts say the hit to the real estate market in New York will be immediate and very direct. The destruction of the World Trade Center complex wiped out more than 15 million square feet of office space—about 15 per cent of all the space in lower Manhattan and a little more than is found in all the principal office towers of Toronto's financial district put together. It created "a crunch for space that is beyond comprehension," says real estate executive Blake Hachewen. The day following the attacks, corporations based in both the trade centre and nearby buildings were already scouting for new accommodation. Among offices damaged and evacuated were three towers of the adjacent World Financial Center along with One Liberty Plaza, all owned by Toronto-based Brookfield Properties Corp. Manhattan rents are due to skyrocket, with the spike often reaching far into New Jersey and Connecticut. "There's a supply deficit the likes of which we haven't seen on this island," says Hachewen, president of Toronto-based CB Richard Ellis Ltd. "There's going to be a frenzy."

Over the longer term, a different kind of location question arises. The attack on the twin towers will force people to think twice about occupying the lower Manhattan, Hachewen says. "It makes you wonder how many major institutions are going to want to own trophy assets," he says. "If those trophy assets become the target."

The impact at the top of the north tower was privately owned Cannon Fingers Ltd. the downtown bond broker in the U.S. which handled up to 75 per cent of all trading in long-term Treasuries. Of its 1,500 people worldwide, 1,000 worked in the World Trade Center headquarters. Roughly 700 had not been accounted for by the end of last week. In a morning television interview, the company's chairman and CEO, Howard Lunick, said and meant that his traditionally close-knit company would now declare itself no

supporting "the 700 families" left behind. Lutzack, who had left for the office late that morning, set up a crisis operation in New York's Plaza hotel and posted his home phone number on the company's disaster Web site. Distraught wives had called him fearing they wouldn't be able to cover their mortgages, he said. "It's a different kind of drive," he said of his new business motivation. "I just have to help them."

The loss of the expertise of the Cantor Fitzgerald people will have an effect on how the bond market trades over the next six months, predicts veteran Toronto-based trader Ted Norris. Hundreds of millions of dollars of trade settlements will be difficult to make because the paper and its been lost and the people are gone, he says. "But the bond market isn't going to fall out of bed because a dealer went awol," he says. "It's just going to be a messy thing trying to clean up all the settlements."

The disruption in business reaches far beyond, of course. Other firms have lost



Normal, but not normal, as trading resumes at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange

what is the cost of delay? What is the price of uncertainty and a drastic change in reality? Airlines and hospitals took a severe hit in their stock prices when the Toronto Stock Exchange re-opened for trading on Thursday. The real estate and construction sectors rose. In the hours following the attacks, gold prices predictably shot up, although they came back down slightly later. Exports, such as automobiles, were hurt by delays at the border. Monarch Financial Corp., one of Canada's largest insurance companies, said the terrorist attacks could cost it as much as \$100 million in claims. Corporate financing was at the very least put on hold. San Life Financial Services of Canada Inc., another big life insurance company, postponed a marketing roadshow for a \$500-million equity offering. "Too many such delays could help drag down the economy, say investment banker Stanley Hertz, chairman of Solomon Smith Barney Canada Inc. "You could freeze that quarter into negative growth."

The U.S. economy had already been teetering on the edge of a recession—and commentators say the attacks may be its final push over the edge. Consumer spending had been the key prop, and people who are grieving, or whose families attend a crisis do not go out and buy new refrigerators or cars. "You've got two issues—consumer confidence, and the financial system crawling back out of the rubble," says Hertz. "In within days of the tragedy, business activity had begun to pick up again. To offset a potential liquidity crisis, central banks around the world injected \$180

billion into the marketplace. When the TSX reopened, trading was calm, not panicked, as some had worried. Even so, the market closed on Friday down fully 100 percent since the attacks, and the big test was due this week when the New York Stock Exchange was set to reopen. Investors are expected to come down even further in efforts to bolster the economy. The New York Stock Exchange was scheduled to reopen this week.

In the days following the attacks, an ethical debate erupted. On one side was the view that the show must go on—that not opening up for business would allow terrorism to believe they'd won. On the other was the fear of showing disrespect, that a quick resumption in trading and other business activity was unwelcome when so many lives were still unaccounted for. "We were livid," says one trader of the Toronto Stock Exchange's decision to remain open for an hour following the attacks on Tuesday morning. "It was wrong." Still, a consensus seemed to emerge that business needs to resume some form of normalcy—the debate was really over this: "You can't let something like this keep you captive," says Newman of Goldman Sachs. "Oh, you will remember it forever. But you have to keep living your life."

When the tragedy struck, O'Neill had been listening to a presentation on the future of financial services. It was unimaginable to him—or anyone there—that very finance would be the terrorists' target.

With Steven Doyle/Drivings in Toronto



Peter C. Newman

The day the war began

Two images haunt me from last week's sequence of horrors: the twin towers of the World Trade Center crumbling into dusty shards and the seething jubilation in East Jerusalem, where young Palestinians were hoisting our wedding tuxes on their cars, celebrating Americans being banished alive.

The tidal image is that of the 21st century's first defining moment: the day the music died—September 11, 2001. The second emphasizes the dilemma that follows: how do you retaliate against people who consider it an honor to die?

Commentators have yet to tire of comparing last week's outrageous events to the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor. It's too early to speculate how precisely history will repeat itself. But it could. The surprise December 7, 1941, attack on the U.S. Pacific fleet led inevitably to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where the Americans sought revenge by detonating nuclear bombs against civilian populations. That's uncomfortably close to George W. Bush's threat to wipe out any regime state hiding the regime's hell.

The attack on Pearl Harbor was intended as a shock that would leave American citizens too stunned to carry on a serious war. Instead, it united their national will as never before, and so have the events of the past week. In the aftermath, an aggressively militant approach has characterized the Americans' preparations to have down the perpetrators responsible, and remove them from the face of the Earth. Escalating violence with violence has overnight become the rule of the game. "I say to our enemies," proclaimed Senator John McCain, the usually moderate Republican from Arizona, "we are coming. God may show you mercy. We will not."

Historically, the forces of Islam have almost consistently been at odds with Western societies. Europeans spent nearly two centuries fighting Muslim overlords during the Crusades, and later fought a Muslim invasion (by troops of the Ottoman Empire), which was stopped only at Vienna in 1683.

The diabolical agents of terror proved that dedicated individuals can counter the military might of powerful countries. Their deadly mission was meticulously planned and brilliantly performed. President Bush was right to call them "cowards, perpetrating senseless acts of violence," and to declare war. Though the Americans have paid the bloody dose to claim it as their own, the one of the world ought not to trust last week's



Escalating violence with violence

horror as a domestic U.S. issue. "This is a crisis against the foundations of our common humanity," Irish President Mary McAleese dignifiedly proclaimed.

At the same time, there is a difference worth pondering between marching off to war and punishing those responsible. Any attempt to rush to judgment could be a costly mistake. (One factor that must be influencing the President's thinking is the realization of his father's mistake, when he was in the White House, not to follow his vicious troops to invade Baghdad and capture Saddam Hussein.) Since the bombs hijacking the planes were armed only with cardboard cutouts and pocket knives, the U.S. nuclear weapons arsenal doesn't cut it anymore. In the end, it will be mind

mission that will revive America's global influence, and thus require the preparation of the best of that great tradition of democratic principles, one of which is arm before you shoot. "If we alter our basic freedom, our civil liberties, change the way we function as a democratic society, then we will have lost the war before it has begun," wisely stated Delawarean Democratic Senator Joseph Biden, one of Capitol Hill's few doves.

What's important now in terms of Canada's influence is that we gain a voice in determining our future—at least whether or not we have one—which may well become the pivotal question at stake in another world war. Despite a slight record in four 20th-century wars, we are a decidedly unwarlike-minded country, proudly guarding what is the free world's most possible kingdom.

Sometimes in a state of terror lies in a state of rage. Whether we admit it or ourselves or not, Canadians are not immune to any of the evils threatening North America. The possible kingdom is no more. From now on, we mark as an unlikely but not inescapable target. After all, we are the closest and most dependable ally of the United States, which is the target of choice of foreign radicals seeking the path to paradise through suicidal attacks on unlikely lands.

For once, the journalistic cliché that "everything has changed and nothing will ever be the same again" is perfectly true. The light of a jet's contrails as it approaches the city. The story of one in a midnight ally. The drinking water, when was it last tested? Every sound, every sight, every daily there has become a potential cause for alarm.

We have just witnessed the opening battle of the Third World War.

UGLY NUMBERS

It's far too early to call the dollar cost of the U.S. terror tragedy. But some numbers, based on early, were set down last week (in U.S. dollars):

- \$40 BILLION: Congress-approved budget for rebuilding and restoration
- \$20 BILLION to \$25 BILLION: possible total exposure of global insurance companies
- \$50 BILLION: estimated initial stockholder losses
- \$2.2 BILLION: value of recent 90-year lease on world and South towers of the World Trade Center and two smaller buildings
- \$2 BILLION: possible life insurance claims
- \$1.5 BILLION: insured value of the World Trade Center towers
- \$25 MILLION: replacement cost (new) of the four damaged buildings

happened out of their will, which will make rebuilding close to impossible. While the financial firms have back-up computer systems and other equipment at far-off sites as part of their emergency programs, for sure, it won't be enough. "In your disaster recovery," one trader says. "You never plan that all your employees are dead."

For companies that can rebuild, or ones caught by the halt in normal business,



